# A PALIMPSEST READING BETWEEN THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE: KAYSERI SAHABIYE DISTRICT AS A CASE

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#### **ABSTRACT**

With the impact of globalization, the spatial transformation of cities has gained momentum and it becomes difficult to read the continuity between the past, the present and the future of the cities. Recently, in Turkish cities, urban environments that bear the traces of history are faced with transformation. In the last decade, transformation is realized through grand regeneration projects which are perceived as a panacea for modernization of urban environments. However, during the implementation process, projects including many building lots; even sometimes a whole district are redesigned by disregarding the existing urban pattern such as street networks, existing architectural characteristics, daily life practices, etc.

In Kayseri, Sahabiye District that is located within the city center, is on the agenda with an urban regeneration project in recent years. The area that takes its name from historic Sahabiye Madrasah, is one of the first Modernist housing examples of the Republican ideology. With the influence of housing policies in Turkey, the district is in a process of continuous transformation and re-existence.

This study aims to discuss the issues of urban identity and housing through analyzing Sahabiye District, which can be read as a palimpsest between the past, the present and the future. The transformation process of the district has been grouped into five phases as the Pre-Republican Period, Early Republican Period (1923-1950), the Period between 1950-1980, the Period between 1980-2000, and finally the Period from 2000 until today. Visual materials such as photographs, maps and plans have been used in order to document the past and the present situation of an urban pattern which is going to disappear in the near future.

**Keywords:** Palimpsest city, Urban layer, Sahabiye District, Housing

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Palimpsest is a Latin term formed by the combination of the words 'palin' (again) and 'psestos' (scraped) (Balamir and Yucel, 2014). Parchment, invented by the Pergamon King Eumenes, was a strong material to be protected for a long time and also expensive to produce, therefore it was used again and again by scraping off (Koo, 2009). Since manuscripts were written not on paper but on papyrus, parchment or leather sheets, it was possible to scrape them off from

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their surface and use again and the concept of palimpsest appeared. For example, the manuscripts of the Achimedes texts left from the 3rd century B.C. were scraped off and prays and hymns were written on them in the early 13th century A.D. (Balamir, 2014) (Figure 1).

The concept of palimpsest gave inspiration to the literature and was made sense of by authors and poets as well. French poet, Baudelaire, likens memory and reality to 'something written and erased repeatedly' and calls it palimpsest. He states that "the memory is only an immense and complicated palimpsest" (Yıldırım, 2009).

Historical city layers continuing their existence today play an important role in forming identities of cities. Cities' social memories formed by past experiences and their connections with the past weaken as they are written again and again like a palimpsest and the continuity of their identities go under threat.

Al (2011) claimed that a palimpsest state is observed when something belonging to the city tried to be destroyed and new layers are created. Undoubtedly, the muti-layer characteristic of cities is one of the indicators of their cultural richness. However a city's inability to protect traces of its layers and the new intervention's effort to cling to the old by destroying it cause the city not to protect its identity. This situation also brings along the city-dweller's losing their emotional ties and memories related to the city.

In the old periods, in the transformation process of buildings and urban fabric, traces left by old layers under and above ground could easily be read (Balamir, 2014). However, during the transformation process of modern age, in the new layer which is being formed as a result of the expectations created by new living habits and new construction technologies, sub-texts are about to fade away.

The Sahabiye District hosting the first modernist housing examples of the Republican ideology in Kayseri has also been in a struggle for a continuous transformation and re-survival in every period also under the effect of housing policies. The Sahabiye District has also been brought to the agenda recently with the statement of an urban transformation project. The Sahabiye example, which can be read as a palimpsest between the past and the present, is an important example in terms of understanding the concept of urban identity and the problem of housing in Turkey.





Figure 1 Archimedes Palimpsest (archimedespalimpsest.org)

# 2. KAYSERI WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING URBAN IDENTITY

Cities gain identity through historical, physical, social and economic determinants. Separate characteristics and interactions of these determinants with one another form the identities of cities. However, the changes in urban identity factors within the course of time change urban identity, too.

Kayseri has become an important center throughout the history. The city, which is considered to be established in the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C., was firstly founded two kilometers south of the city center and on a hill of 100 meters from the plain (Baydur, 1970). In this period, it was situated on a hilly area for defensive purposes in a way showing the identity characteristics of an ancient city. However, today, in the region, there is Beştepeler Park, the largest green area of Kayseri. There is no precise information about when the city came down to the plain. The city was surrounded by walls in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. starting in the period of Justinianus (Karatepe, 1999).

Moreover, in the Middle Ages, Kayseri showed the characteristics of a fortified city. In fortified cities, a great part of the settlement area was located within the walls. The area surrounded by walls was small and included an inner fortress generally having an administrative and military function. There was a settlement area showing dense housing in the inner fortress and there were churches scattered around. Because of being stuck in a narrow area, the trading area had a more organized quality (Tanyeli, 1987) (Figure 2).

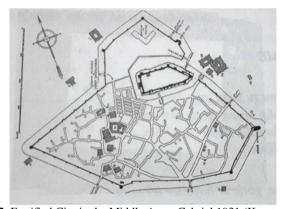


Figure 2. Fortified City in the Middle Ages, Gabriel 1931 (Karatepe, 1999)

The spatial structure of Kayseri, a Byzantium city before being Turkized, expanded out of the fortress in the Seljuk period and widened organically around the complexes of Hacı Kılıç, Hunat and Güllük. The Rums living inside the fortress were settled around Kiçikapu and the Armenians were settled in the area today called the Armenian District. The inside of the fortress was turned into an administrative center including buildings such as palace, mosque and barrack (Karatepe, 1999).

Until the end of the 18th century, the city reflected the middle age identity characteristics. The city exhibited an organic order with its narrow, meandering and dead-end streets and there were small squares, mosque courtyards or gardens where streets intersected (İmamoğlu, 1996). In Kayseri, the civil architecture examples having survived until now, were the mansions where big families were living together around shared courtyards. However, according to what Faroqhi (1997) stated based on qadi registers, 60% of the residential buildings in the 17th

century were the one-roomed or two-roomed houses where a single family lived. Hence, it is wrong to interpret the traditional housing fabric in Kayseri over the examples having reached today.

As it is in most of the Anatolian cities, change in the traditional urban fabric in Kayseri accelerated after the Tanzimat Period and new building typologies emerged. 1869 Ahmet Pasha School, 1892 Military Hospital, 1904 Kayseri High School First Floor, 1906 Clock Tower and 1910 State Hospital are the structures of this period. The first automobile came to Kayseri in 1910 and the automobile made it necessary to open wide roads in the traditional fabric. In 1909, firstly the Sivas Street, the Meydan (Square) and the Istanbul (Osman Kavuncu) streets were widened and then, in 1939, the Istasyon (Station) Street was opened (Karatepe, 1999).

Kayseri went beyond its traditional borders through industrialization. In 1926, the Aircraft Factory was established on the outskirts of the Mountain of Ali and prevented the city from expanding to that direction. The railway line to Kayseri started to be run in 1927. The railway station building, service buildings, administrative units, lodging buildings and community facility buildings created a new attraction point in the northern part of the city. Moreover, in 1935, in the north of the station, Sümer Bank Cloth Factory was put into service and created a wide district around it with community facilities, lodging buildings and educational units. While the city gained a new dimension and identity with its industrial organizations, the housing areas remained within the traditional borders and did not develop until the 1950's. Karatepe (1999) associates this situation with the fact that the state built lodging buildings, single housing units and community facilities around the industrial organizations and, for this reason, industrialization did not create housing problems and also no increase was observed in the city population.

#### 3. READING THE SAHABIYE DISTRICT AS A PALIMPSEST

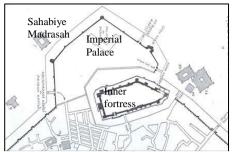
#### 3.1. Pre-Republican Period

Kayseri showed a development focusing on the inner fortress and around from the East Roman Period on. It is predicted that the Roman Tomb located in the north of the Sahabiye Madrasah, as the trace of the first layer, that can be read in the Sahabiye District palimpsest, was built in the 4th century (Figure 3).

In the Seljuk and the Beyliks period (1071-1467), the development of Kayseri outside the inner fortress became the start of housing for the Sahabiye District. Visiting the city in the 1920's, A. Gabriel (1954) mentions in his evaluations and restitutions about the existence of a rampart extending to the Southern line of the Sahabiye District and an imperial palace in the north of the inner fortress (Figure 4).



**Figure 3.** Roman Tomb (F. Büşra Güler Archive, 2012)



**Figure 4.** Imperial Palace and Ramparts (Gabriel, 1954)

In the north of the palace area is the Sahabiye (Sahibiye) Madrasah that is considered to be located within a complex composed of a khan, a public kitchen, a bathhouse, a masjid and a fountain that was built in 1267. The district took its name from this madrasah (Akşit, 1996) (Figure 5).

According to Kuban (1968), dervish lodges and zawiyas had an effect on the establishment of the Seljuk period districts. In some resources, there is some information in relation to the establishment of the Kalenderhâne District in the area covering a part of the Kayseri Sahabiye District in the Seljuk period and the fact that the structure called Kalenderhâne Masjid continued its existence for a long time and collapsed together with the houses around it in the recent period (Akşit, 2014).

The Twin Tomb (late 12th century, early 13th century), Hacip Çavlı Tomb (12th century), Şadgel (Ulu) Hatun Tomb (1305) are the traces of the Sahabiye palimpsest left from the Seljuk period (Özbek and Arslan, 2008).

Hacı Kilıç Mosque and Madrasah (1249), the Seljuk period artefacts, determined the western border of the area. These buildings situated as a result of the Seljuk State urbanization policy created a center for its vicinity and is important in terms of the development of the Sahabiye District (Karatepe, 1999) (Figure 6).

On Erkan-i Harbiye-i Umumiye (Ministry of War) Map of Kayseri dated 1341, there are traces in relation to the beginning of housing in the southern fringe of the district in the Seljuk period (Figure 7).

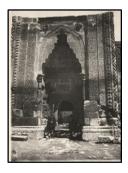


Figure 5. Sahabiye Madrasah, 1925 (Turkish Grand National Assembly Archive)



Figure 6. Minaret of Hacı Kılıç Mosque and Madrasah, early 20th Century (A. Gabriel)



**Figure 7**. Erkan-1 Harbiye-i Umumiye (Ministry of War) Map of Kayseri, 1341 (Turkish Grand National Assembly Archive)

Moreover, in the Ottoman period (1467-1923), it is known that the south of the inner fortress was the area where trading and manufacturing activities were held and the north of it was used as the administrative and political center. It is predicted that the Imperial Palace and the outer castle walls around it collapsed in this period due to the transportation problems created by the housing in the north of the inner fortress, that is, in the vicinity of the Sahabiye and Serçeönü Districts (Karatepe, 1999).

The covered bazaar (15th century) surrounded by khans and bazaars constructed in the west of the inner fortress, as the most important place of the commercial activity, increased the power of the center and had important effects on the development of the district (Hovardaoğlu and Akın, 2010). Kayseri districts having developed adjacent to religious structures in the Seljuk period, developed around bazaars and public buildings in addition to religious structures by exhibiting narrow, meandering and dead-end structure in the Ottoman period (Karatepe, 1999).

Emir Yakupoğlu Fountain (Mıhlım 1) (1771), Mıhlım 2 Fountain (it is predicted that it was constructed in the early 19th century) and Sheihk Seyfullah Tomb (16th century) are the structures belonging to this period.

## 3.2. 1923-1950 Period

Together with the declaration of the Republic, many changes having political, social and economic reflections took place in Turkey. All changes aiming to create a national order and identity have spatial reflections. In Kayseri having thousands of years of history, the modernization experience following the Republic went into the process of spatial and social restructuring depending on the economic-growth focused industrialization movement.

The railway going into service in 1927 gave a new apperance to the north part of the city ending with Hacı Kılıç Mosque. The axis of Istasyon (Station) Street linking the railway and the city center forms the western border of the area. The opening of the street, whose expropriation works started in 1928, was delayed until 1939 because of the presence of the houses of the notables in the area (Karatepe, 1999).

The first urban planning implementations in Kayseri started in 1933. The master plan designed by engineer Burhanettin Çaylak remained in practice until 1945. The 1933 Çaylak Plan was composed of the 1/8000-scaled preliminary project, whose construction was completed in 1933, and the 1/2000-scaled final project, whose construction was completed in 1935, and the reports of these projects (Çabuk, 2012) (Figure 8).

According to Çabuk (2012), the Çaylak Plan was used in the organization of the Istasyon (Station) Street and the determination of the locations for the Community Center, the Girls' Institute and the Governor's Mansion, which were the public buildings planned to be constructed along the street. The public buildings constructed in the street accelerated the development of the district. Moreover, in the Çaylak plan, it was decided to construct attached houses in the area between the Atatürk Boulevard and the Istasyon (Station) Street and two-storey villas and summer houses in the development areas lying outside these street (Çabuk, 2012).

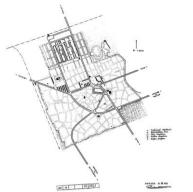




Figure 8. 1933 Çaylak Plan (Çabuk, 2012)

**Figure 9**. 1945 Oelsner-Aru Plan, Sahabiye (Eldek, 2012)

The first comprehensive master plan of Kayseri was prepared by Kemal Ahmet Aru in 1945 under the chairmanship of the German City Planner, Prof. Oelsner. Oelsner and Aru prepared a plan taking those days' city-planning principles and planning fundamentals into account. While the city image was organized with the Oelsner-Aru Plan, its reflection of a modern European city was prevented. In the plan, a respective behavior was exhibited toward the natural lanscape and historical values of Kayseri (Çabuk and Demir, 2013). However, according to Karatepe (1999), although the Oelsner-Aru Plan protected the monumental fabric, it projected the complete destruction of the traditional housing fabric apart from a few examples. In the plan, it was targeted to develop the city in the north-west direction and to define the north part of the city covering the Sahabiye District as the new housing area under the effect the housing area occurring around the Sumerbank Cloth Factory, which was opened in 1935 (Figure 9).

# 3.3. 1950-1980 Period

The housing layer of the Sahabiye District showed a development compatible with the Kayseri city plans starting from 1950 on (Oral, 2006). Starting from the early 1950's, in terms of the development of housing areas, great construction activities took place in Kayseri. On the old settlement fabric lying in the south of the inner fortress, in accordance with the grid plan proposal, muti-storey apartments with shops on the ground floor were constructed. In the same years, together with the renewal in the old settlement fabric, the local government also organized the area lying between the north of the city center and the Sumerbank Complex and opened the Sahabiye and Fatih Districts to settlement (Asiliskender, 2008).

The first settlement in the area was the blocks constructed by the municipality. The apartment blocks constructed for the owners of the traditional houses, which were knocked down by expropriation via the Aru plan, were designed in two-storey flats with approximately 80-100 m<sup>2</sup> area with a garden. For the people who were used to traditional housing lifestyle, the municipality houses were the first meeting with the modern lifestyle.

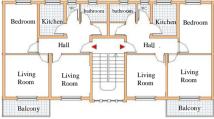
Karatepe (1999) explains the importance of this modern housing fabric layer of the Sahabiye District for Kayseri with these words: "The first modern district established in Kayseri is the Sahabiye District."

The housing activities starting in the 1950's with the municipality blocks also continued with the family apartment blocks built by wealthy families in the later period. The buildings, which were constructed generally as ground+2- or ground+3-storey buildings with a garden, bear the

modern traces of the period. The users switching from the traditional life conditions to modern life continued to use traditional traces in modern apartments. For the people starting to live together with the apartment style of living suddenly, the change occurred not only spatially but also socially.

Although the housing fabric in the Sahabiye District developed following the 1950's, the traces of the Early Republican Period can be observed. With an understanding similar to the lodging buildings around Sumerbank Cloth Factory established in 1935, one- or two-storey buildings in a garden were constructed in Sahabiye, too. Even in the spatial designs of the buildings, this similarity can be read (Asiliskender, 2008) (Figure 10).





**Figure 10.** Sumerbank Outer Duty Lodging Building Plan and Sahabiye Municipality Lodging Building B Type Building Plan (Özdin, 2009)

In the facade characteristics of the buildings, the traditional and modern styles are nested. Large windows -not having been used in the traditional buildings- became the fundamental element of the modern house. These new type of windows are one of the important indicators of the transition from an introverted lifestyle to an extroverted one. However, the cantilevers used in the traditional buildings came through abstraction in the modern building. Decorated buttresses were replaced by simple straight generally concrete buttresses.

Until the 1970's, the Sahabiye District and the Istasyon (Station) Street were the most prestigious area of the city. In 1975, a new master plan was prepared by architect Yavuz Taşçı. With this master plan, mass housing areas newly formed with the adoption of high-rise construction and wide boulevards in the knocked-down old districts lying outside the city walls and in the districts newly-opened to settlement decreased the interest in Sahabiye (Karatepe, 1999).

## 3.4. 1980-2000 Period

In the 1980's, in the direction of the Yavuz Taṣṣṭ Plan, new districts started to be established in the north and south of the Sivas Street with big mass housing projects (Karatepe, 1999). The area experienced a social change after the 1990's with property owners renting their houses. The high-income users living in this area moved in the new housing area formed in the southeast of the city. The user profile changed from high-income group to low-income group who could not afford repair and maintenance works. Together with the user change, the area gradually lost its importance and the buildings started to wear down (Eldek, 2012). Moreover, the Sumer Bank Cloth Factory stopped its production in the 1990's. This had an effect on the change observed in the user profile of the area as well.

## 3.5. 2000- Today

In the master plan prepared by the Metropolitan Muncipality of Kayseri in 2006, the inclusion of the area into the Central Business District (CBD) also triggered the transformation (Eldek, 2012). In addition to the housing type where the workplace and the dwelling are used together,

the headquarters of the economically-powerful firms and private schools started to take place in the area. This change was achieved via knocking down or changing of the existing structures.

After 2000s, buildings which were built mainly in the 1960s have been demolished and new buildings with different functions and in different storey heights started to be constructed in their place (Eldek, 2012). Demolitions were made not only to achieve the transformation into a business center, but also for construction of houses. Some of the Municipality blocks (1950), which had been the most typical structures of the area, were knocked down and high-rise apartment blocks were constructed in place of them (Figure 11).





**Figure 11.** A High-Rise Apartment Block Constructed in place of a Municipality Block of 1950s (F. Büşra Güler Archive, 2012)

Moreover, although some of the houses that changed their function were not knocked down, they were exposed to serious interventions. The use of dwellings as workplaces created a new palimpsest both in the spatial design and in the façade character. This created a confusion in perception (Figure 12).









Figure 12. Structures with Facade Character Damaged by Interventions (F. Büşra Güler Archive)

The residential pattern, formed after 1950s, survived until now by transforming with various interventions. However, as a result of the uncontrolled transformation in the area, the process of obsolescence started. As a solution to this, the local governments went into the process of working in order to renew the area completely.

In the Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality (KMM) Council's decisions dated 16.01.2015 and numbered 126, 127, 128 and 129, the following reasons were presented for the transformation projected in the Sahabiye District:

"While the area in the center of the city was a center of attraction between 1950s and 1980s, it started to lose this character and gradually lost its value and eventually became a ruined area in later years. Today, for reasons such as the traffic and parking problems, the insufficient infrastructure, the difficulty of constructing new infrastructure, the perceptibility problem of

the historical monuments' among the new structures, the increase in the number of ruined and abandoned structures, the increase in the crime rate in the area and for similar reasons, the urban transformation in the area has become a necessity."

Based on these reasons, the Sahabiye District was declared as the "Urban Transformation and Development Project Area" (KMM 2015 Activity Report). In the Urban Transformation Project for the Sahabiye and Fatih Districts, for the Protection Areas, only the Roman, Seljuk and Ottoman period structures were determined (KMM 2015 Activity Report).





Figure 13. Current Aerial Photos of the Area and Its Future (www.sahabiyedonusum.com)

The Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality announced in its website on 4th December 2014 that it would hold a competition related to the area. The competition specification defined the purpose of the competition as the "reproduction of the area" (KMM Competition Specification, 2014). The Metropolitan Municipality held a referandum on the three projects accepted in the end of the competition and the project determined as a result of the referendum is being prepared to be put into practice. In the area, the knocking-down works were started by the end of 2016. (www.sahabiyedonusum.com, 2017) (Figure 13).

# 4. CONCLUSION

The palimpsest character of a city creates a duality between conservation of the existing layers of meaning accumulated throughout history and the act of erasing them to make room for the new pattern to appear (Farahani et al., 2015). Collective urban memory is the manifestation of historical urban layers. A balance and a reconciliation between conservation and new construction is required in order to sustain urban identity.

The Sahabiye District being in the threshold of scraping off and rewriting today and the representative of the new and modern face of a period stands before us as an example of the product of a social amnesia. The alienation which a city and its dwellers -having lost their memories in relation to their recent past- lives actually occurs as a result of the inability to maintain urban identity. Tracking different layers of the city of Kayseri and Sahabiye District and rediscovering its unique pattern is a necessity for resisting stereotype urban development and improving urban identity which is under the threat of being lost.

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